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## THE VOICE OF DOCKERY

### AND THE FIGURES OF SEIBERT.

#### AN ANALYSIS OF DEMOCRATIC DOINGS IN THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

By Hon. B. P. Russell.

When Jacob of old conspired with his dishonest old mother to rob his brother Esau of his birthright, his mother covered him with the shins of the goat in order that the blind old father might be deceived when he felt of Jacob, for Esau was a hairy man.

When Alexander Dockery conspired with the dishonest old Democratic party to deceive the people of the United States, (Uncle Sam) and rob the Republican party of this state of its birth-right, he took Jas. Seibert's old campaign text book with its distorted and false figures, and constructed a cloak to hide the facts, but the people when they heard him declared, "It is the voice of Dockery but the figures of Seibert." These figures have been so often proven untrue that it seems a task of supererogation to make definite reply to that speech, but since the newspaper supplements containing it have been distributed in violation of law, over all the state, it is well to dissect and analyze that speech.

The postal law of the United States declares that all supplements of newspapers sent out shall bear the full name of the paper sending them, as well as the date of the paper of which they purport to be a supplement. Every one sent out fails in this respect, and every one is a product then of a violation of the law; but before we are through with this great speech it will be seen that there is nothing strange for the men who inspired it. If the reader will take one of Seibert's campaign manuals and follow us and this speech of Dockery's, he will find plenty of evidence of the fact that the Democratic candidate for governor has been so long out of the state that he has not acquainted himself with the facts and has relied utterly on Seibert's manual for his basis, which, proven false, destroys the fabric of the speech. The speech is a long one and so full of glaring misstatements and inconsistencies, that it would take too long to point all of them out, but we propose to make several quotations and show by democratic authority that they are either untrue or prove the utter incompetency of the democratic party to govern this state.

We first notice what Mr. Dockery says will be determined by the present campaign. He says it will be determined "whether we will surrender the control of local affairs." This comes from the candidate of a party that by legislation has taken away from the great cities of St. Louis and Kansas City every vestige of local control. The population of these two cities is much greater than that of Porto Rico, over which Mr. Dockery sheds so many sympathetic tears, and yet these cities are shorn of the power of control of elections, a board appointed by the governor absolutely dominating the conduct thereof. They are deprived of the control of their police; the law there is not enforced as in the rest of the state by officers elected by the people but by men appointed by a police board, selected by the Governor and their salary fixed, not by the municipal authorities but by the board, and it is made a crime for the legislative bodies of those cities to fail to vote every dollar of the salaries fixed by these men. Then again, the licensing of the saloons is not a local matter. An excise commissioner is appointed by this same governor, who licenses all the saloons and utterly controls them as a political machine. Then, again, an inspector of beer is provided, to be appointed by the governor, with the purpose of making the breweries subservient to the party. These are a few of the instances where this party stands ready to rob the people of local government, notwithstanding its declaration.

Passing to the discussion of that part of the speech devoted to state issues, Mr. Dockery says of the record of the two parties both of which have controlled the state:

"The official record will determine

with a certainty, as unerring as the laws of gravitation or the ebb and flow of the tides, which party shall hereafter be charged with the responsibility of the adulteration of the affairs of this wonderful state."

Now let us examine that record, not Seibert's unofficial statement on which Mr. Dockery has prefaced his speech, but his sworn official record, which we will quote, giving page and paragraph, and from that record Mr. Dockery shall not escape, and upon that record so made up the people shall judge.

Let us first examine the creation of the public debt. Here is what Mr. Dockery says of the public debt:

"The state debt in 1861, when the civil war began, amounted to \$24,323,000, all of which, except \$622,000 was incurred by the issue of bonds to aid in the construction of railroads. . . . Whenever one of the aided roads established to the satisfaction of the governor that its stockholders had actually expended a certain amount for the construction and equipment, for the Governor, as authorized by law, issued and delivered bonds to such road to the amount of one-half of the money so expended, the state retaining the first lien on all the property of the railroad companies, including the lands granted by Congress. It is obvious therefore, that no loss was possible, except through fraud. . . . Eight of the trunk lines of the state were thus bond aided, and all of them except the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad defaulted in the payment of interest on the bonds at the beginning or early in the war."

No efforts were made by the state during the war to collect the amount due the state. These railroads cost \$47,402,000, and were amply sufficient to secure the indebtedness due the state.

Let us see how the debt was created. Mr. Dockery says it existed in 1861, and that was before the republican party came into power. It was a railroad debt incurred in building a certain amount of railroad and according to Walker's Auditor's Report it was on the following roads and whose construction was alleged to have cost the sums given in the following table:

Companies	Miles built	Alleged cost construction	Bonds issued by State
Pacific	115	\$7,717,185	\$7,000,000
St. Louis & Hannibal	111	4,557,000	4,200,000
N. Missouri	236.75	4,917,126	4,500,000
Iron Mountain	385.5	5,922,126	5,500,000
Cañon & Alton	20.5	599,970	550,000
Platte County	44.5	700,000	700,000
St. Louis & East	600.25	12,000,775	11,200,000
St. Louis & S. W.	206.8	5,500,245	5,000,000
Total	867.65	\$47,402,000	\$44,400,000

\*Road not donated. †Did not default.

Here it will be seen that four years before the party (Republican) came into power in the state a debt of \$24,323,000 (Mr. Dockery's figures) was fastened on the state to aid in the construction of 887 miles of road. A liberal allowance for the cost of these roads, which were supplied with the cheapest of light iron rails, laid mainly through a prairie country, where little or no grading was necessary, would have been \$20,000 a mile. The railroads of the state are assessed as will be shown later, at less than half of that sum to-day. This would place the cost of the roads at \$17,770,000. The law authorizing the issuing of the bonds was a democratic law passed in 1867 and provided that when the railroad companies had expended a certain amount of money the state should issue bonds to that amount. (See Dockery's own statement.) No sooner had the bonds been authorized than the looting of the treasury began. Instead of bonds to half the amount of cost being issued, bonds to double the amount of cost were issued, and this enormous debt saddled on the people. It was a democratic steal because it was before a republican ever held an office in the state. Mr. Dockery admits it was \$24,323,000 in 1861. It drew six per cent interest until 1865 when the republicans first

came into power. The war had intervened. Taxes were not gathered for any extent during that period, and the debt on the first of January 1865, when the republicans first went into power according to the Auditor's report, page 115, 1883, democratic authority, was \$36,000,000 in round numbers.

This was when the republican party assumed control of affairs of the state. It went out of power in 1870 and the liberal Republicans came in for two years. Democracy succeeded in 1873. In 1860, 600 miles of this road was sold under the act of the legislature passed in 1857, the same act by which the bonds were authorized. The roads were sold at a time when they were bankrupt, with nine years' interest unpaid, with rotten ties and worn out road bed, with rickety, rulling stock, and engines that had been ten years in use, and brought, as Mr. Dockery says in his speech, \$6,131,493, or \$9,017 a mile. But of this more anon.

I quote again from Mr. Seibert through the mouth of Dockery. "When the democratic party took control of our state government in 1873 the bonded debt of the state, the legacy of republican misrule amounted to \$20,868,000."

This debt, as we have shown from official figures of Walker's Report, was a democratic debt of \$36,000,000, and according to Mr. Dockery it has been decreased in eight years to \$20,868,000. In other words, the republicans came into power at the close of the war, the state rent and torn by an awful civil strife, and according to Dockery's own figures they paid off \$15,200,000 of the debt in eight years. What has democracy done since. The debt Jan. 1, 1873 was \$20,868,888. On the 1st of Jan. 1899, according to Seibert's official report, the debt was \$8,085,849. This debt was scheduled as follows: (See page 24 Seibert's last report.)

Total bonded debt	\$8,085,849
School fund certificates	\$1,150,000
Seminary fund certificates	\$1,500,000

Total debt \$10,735,849

But this is not all the debt. Mr. Seibert admits that the deficiency in the revenue was at that time Jan. 1, 1899, \$207,067. Then the officers of the state took \$226,000 that belonged to the Insurance fund and used that instead of paying it over to the counties in 1897-98. They also used \$80,000 which was collected from Insurance companies as fines under the trust law which the constitution says shall go to the school fund. This altogether foots up \$513,502.22, which should be added to the debt and this leaves the total debt to-day \$8,569,341.22.

The reduction since 1873 twenty eight years ago, has accordingly been the difference between \$20,868,000 the debt then and the \$8,569,341, where it stands to-day, altogether \$12,298,659 in twenty-eight years.

Again I will quote from Mr. Dockery-Seibert.

"From January 1, 1873, to July 19, 1900, the democratic administration of Missouri collected of the people's money for public purposes, \$105,266,353. This money was disbursed without the loss of a dollar to the taxpayers."

Mr. Dockery evidently forgets the steel for which poor Noland was the scape goat and suffered punishment, and by inference he means this alleged reduction in the public debt was from that fund collected from the people, in taxes.

Under the constitution adopted by the Republicans, a fund was provided for, to be securely invested and sacredly preserved for the support of the public schools; only the interest to be used. That fund was invested in U. S. bonds which drew interest from the general government. In 1883 (see session acts of that year) those bonds were converted into state bonds and the latter were canceled and State certificates issued in lieu thereof. A fund that drew interest was then illegally and unconstitutionally converted into a debt that pays interest and the proceeds used in payment of the state debt. The amount (see auditor's report 1897-98) is \$4,385,839.42. In 1881 the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad paid into the state Treasury \$8,180,000, and in 1881 the general government refunded of war

tax \$646,958.22. This altogether foots up \$8,222,797.65, all of which was used for reducing the debt. The net reduction then from taxation was only \$4,075,861.81 in twenty-eight years, by democratic financiering against the record of the republican party in eight years. If Mr. Dockery can find any cause for congratulating himself or his party on this record, he is welcome to it. The republicans just after the war when gold was at a three per cent premium, when prices were high and taxes hard to collect, in eight years paid off the debt at the rate of two million dollars a year. The democratic party in the twenty-eight succeeding years have decreased it at the rate of one-seventh of one million a year.

Attention is again called to Mr. Dockery's declaration, (see speech and also Seibert's campaign hand book) that the railroads which were sold were worth \$47,000,000. There was but 680 miles sold in 1868, and if Mr. Dockery tells the truth they were worth \$69,119 a mile. There are in the state today according to Mr. Seibert's Auditor's report of 1898 (See page 340,) 6,554 miles of road, which is assessed at \$61,111,281 on the road bed and \$11,822,000 on rolling stock. The assessed rate would be, and the merest school boy can make the calculation \$9,324 a mile. This is the present assessment of splendid roads, equipped with heavy steel rails, in the most perfect repair and worth, as every man in the state knows, four times as much per mile as the old bankrupt roads in 1868, yet the roads then were sold, as Mr. Dockery says by a corrupt bargain that was practically a steal, \$9,017 a mile. If Mr. Dockery tells the truth in his speech, and the roads were only as valuable to-day as they were in 1868 that is \$96,119 a mile, the 6,554 miles in the state to-day are worth \$630,000,926. They are assessed at less than one-seventh of that figure. These same figures are found in Seibert's political manual, and he and Mr. Dockery can accept either horn of the dilemma.

Either the statement of Mr. Dockery as to the roads in 1868 is entirely unwarranted, and the statement has no justification; or the sworn officers of the state board of equalization have violated their oath of office in the assessment of the railroads, and wronged every other property holder in the state who carries a burden of taxation. If the latter is true, Mr. Dockery's party should be buried under an avalanche of votes, as unworthy of the management of the affairs of state. If the other horn of the dilemma be accepted, Mr. Dockery is proven either ignorant of the commonest matters of the financial history of the state, and it was his party that looted the state treasury when the bonds were issued to the railroads.

Again if what Mr. Dockery says is true as to the value of the 680 miles of railroad in 1868, every state officer has violated the constitution every year since. Listen. Here is section 3 article 10 of the constitution.

"All railroad corporations in this state or doing business therein, shall be subject to taxation for state, county, school and other purposes on the real and personal property owned or used by them, and on their gross earnings, their net earnings, their franchises and their capital stock."

This provision of the constitution has been violated year by year. If Mr. Dockery tells the truth in his speech, Where is the proof? Turn to page 342 of Mr. Seibert's last report and there will be found the assessment of the railroad companies for all years from 1878 to the present. In 1878 ten years after the roads were sold, all the railroad, bridge and telegraph companies in the state were assessed at only \$26,122,198, and it was only until 1888 twenty years after the sale that the assessment of the then thousands of miles of road in the state altogether reached the \$47,000,000 Mr. Dockery says 680 were worth in 1868. In this connection it is worthy of note that Lesueur's Manual on page 444 gives the same figures and also on the same page gives the bonded debt of the state as over eight million.

Now again we quote from Dockery-Seibert's speech: "The extremely satisfactory reduction of the bonded debt has been made upon a reduced rate of taxation. The state's certificates of indebtedness due the school funds now call for \$4,393,839.42 the interest of which goes to support the state university and our public school system."

We have showed that more than two-thirds of the debt reduction has not come from taxation, and now let us see as to the school fund. As before stated that fund was created by the Republican constitution of 1865 and was invested in United States bonds and the General government paid the interest to the state and that interest largely supported the school. In violation of the constitution, which still provides that that fund shall be accurately invested and sacredly preserved, the entire fund has been spent and instead of a fund, there is a debt to that amount to pay the interest on which the people of the state are annually taxed, and some of them are deluded into the belief that they are receiving state school money from the interest on a fund. They will be enlightened on that point by reading page 140 of the Session Acts of 1883. By then referring to page 12 of the session Acts of 1886, the reader will discover that the sum of \$500,513.93 is appropriated out of the state interest fund, annually raised by taxation to pay interest on these certificates of indebtedness, which are the only evidence remaining that the children of the state even had "a fund securely invested and sacredly preserved, only the interest to be used for the support of the public schools." If these funds had remained as the Republican constitution provided, invested in United States bonds, the general government would have paid the interest and many million dollars would have been saved to the tax-payers of this state.

Mr. Dockery boasts that his party has reduced the rate of taxation, but is careful not to say it was in obedience to a positive command of the constitution, yet he does not tell you that the same year that the rate was reduced ten cents on each hundred dollars valuation, that all farm property was advanced in valuation twenty cents on every hundred dollars. You who pay taxes know that the rate of taxation is higher to-day than ever before. In 1868 when the Republican party came into power, the taxable wealth of the state was \$262,354,352, when they went out of power eight years later in had nearly doubled. In 1876 the valuation was \$356,000,000. On this assessed valuation the party conducted the affairs of state, and paid off fifteen millions of debt. How on earth did they do it? By economy which is comparison with the democratic extravagance which has since prevailed, was little short of parsimony, and before I have done with Mr. Dockery I will prove it to you by figures from Democratic reports. I do not know what the books show, for only the ring has ever had access to them in the last twenty years. Up to within a few years the auditor's reports gave a table of receipts and expenditures for many years. Of late this table has been omitted, but the figures are obtainable, but before proceeding to a presentation of them I want again to quote from the Seibert-Dockery speech.

"But, my fellow-citizens, this is not all of the splendid financial record of the democratic party. On January 1, 1873, the cash capital school fund of the state amounted to \$2,570,100; on July 18 of the great present year it aggregated \$3,158,000. The interest upon this handsome cash endowment fund, larger than any other similar fund of any state of the republic, goes to educate our children."

The seminary fund, the interest of which is used to support the state university, has also been increased from \$208,700, as it was on the 1st of January, 1873, to \$1,235,834.42 on the 18th of July last. The total amount of money raised by taxation from all sources to maintain the public school system in 1871 was \$1,687,575. The total amount raised for this purpose in 1899, under democratic rule was \$7,078,021.34.

In retutation of this remarkable statement I refer you to page 7 of Seibert's last Auditor's report, where the cash school fund is stated as but \$923,400. It is possible that a candidate for governor does not know that the school fund has been dissipated and spent and instead is represented by a debt, which under the constitution provides that the bonded debt shall be paid, and when extinguished, the tax authorized for the purpose of paying off the state debt shall cease to be assessed. (See Sec. 14, Art. 10 of the Constitution.) Section 44, Art. 4, absolutely prohibits the legislature from creating an additional debt, hence it must be concluded that the Act of 1883 is unconstitutional and void. Sec. 14, Art. 10 provides that not less than \$250,000

of the public bonded debt shall be reduced or paid each year from taxation. As we have shown you the debt has been reduced only \$4,075,861 in twenty-eight years from taxation, where it should have been reduced in obedience to the constitution over seven millions.

In the State Seminary fund the same condition of affairs exists. According to the statement found on page 8 of Seibert's last report, there was only \$614.56 in this fund instead of \$1,235,834 as Mr. Dockery states it. The rest is represented by a debt—or a deficiency.

New in regard to the amount of money raised to maintain the schools in 1871 and 1899. The amount given for 1871 is approximately correct. Mr. Dockery may have peculiar facilities for obtaining facts as to the amount raised in 1899 but, I refer the public to the official records. See page 9 of Seibert's Auditor's report. He there gives the total amount for 1867 and 1898 as \$1,979,697.19 for two full years and this includes the amount received from the state, through taxation of the people to pay interest on the certificates of indebtedness, which was formerly paid by the general government, \$372,100. This subtracted from the former figure would leave the annual receipt from taxation at only \$806,798 per year against more than twice as much raised in 1871. Mr. Seibert's report is open to all men. Does any man in the state believe the revenues for school purposes have suddenly grown from \$806,000 in 1898 to \$7,078,021 in 1899 or more than \$5,000,000 more than the entire state revenue.

Again I refer you to Mr. Seibert's report to the general assembly in which you will find on page 27 the following statement:

"The receipts into the general revenue fund from all sources, were \$1,183,347.36 in 1897 and \$3,157,700.00 in 1898, a total of \$4,341,047.36 for the two years."

One third of this sum transferred to the State School accounts leaving \$1,455,227 for all other expenses of the state government and yet Mr. Dockery asks you to believe that more than two million dollars more money was raised for school purposes in 1899 than all the revenues for all purposes for the preceding two years.

It will be observed that according to Mr. Dockery's statement as to the amount raised in 1871 by the Republicans for school purposes, it was more than double the amount Seibert states was annually raised in 1897 and 1898. This was done on a state valuation of less than half of what it is to-day.

Now again as to the reduced rate of taxation of which Mr. Dockery speaks. If his statement were true that railroads were worth \$69,000 a mile in 1868 as he states when he says 680 miles were worth 47 millions the valuation of property in the state if honestly assessed, would have reached the constitutional limit of nine hundred million dollars more than 10 years before the reduction he speaks of took place.

Again I quote from Mr. Dockery and the figures are Seibert's.

"Eight years of republican rule prior to democratic ascendancy in 1873 cost the tax-payers \$164.40 more for printing the laws and journals than the cost for a like purpose under 28 years of democratic rule."

During 1867 and 1868, the last years of Governor Fletcher's administration, the republican party expended \$76,669.99 more for printing, copying and distributing the laws and journals than was expended during the last two years of Gov. Stephen's administration for the same objects. That is to say, the republicans expended more than eight times as much money for this purpose in 1867 and 1868 than the democrats did in 1899 and 1900. A like favorable exhibit is disclosed by the official records in favor of democratic management in the expenses of the general assembly. During the eight years of republican and liberal republican rule prior to the administration of Gov. Woodson, the pay and contingent expenses of the legislature amounted to \$1,514,024.48, while the expenditures for the same purposes under 28 years of democratic control were \$2,825,503.12. That is to say, the average annual expen-